1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

604 brothers they must make offerings of labor and food. In fact as soon
593 as they are old enough to do so, the boys will spend a good portion
476 of their time in the family group of their uncles on their mother's side. They hunt with him, they help him build his canoes, work for him, and take part in the feasts and ceremonies with him.

593 However, the father is interested in his children, especially when
604 they are young, and treats them with the utmost kindness and they reciprocate by acknowledging filial respect. Perhaps it was this difference in the attitude between the uncle and the father that led
● [114] the missionaries to comment that the Yaruros and the Otomacos showed no respect for their fathers and often killed them.

601 A Yaruro makes no mistake between those individuals in his group who are related to him biologically and those who are merely related to him socially. For instance, he calls his father "aia" or "aiamái," and he calls his father's brothers by the same word. In fact he distinguishes between the older and the younger brothers of his father, so that he may call his father's elder brother "aiamái otéh," which is translatable into "elder father". He will refer to the younger brother of his father as "aiamái durimé," meaning "younger father." Not only does he call the brothers of his father by the same term as he addresses his own father, but the parallel cousins also are addressed by the same term. Since his own father must show respect to his older brothers, the son assumes the same attitude as his father toward the older members of the family. In the female line, he refers to his mother as "aí" and his mother's sisters as "aí" also, suffixing the term for older and younger as the case may be. The female parallel cousins of his mother are called by the same term.

On the other hand the sisters of the father are addressed as "haí" and the brothers of his mother are addressed as "hademái". It is these classes of individuals whom we can refer to as aunt and uncle.

His brothers he calls "ajimái" or "anyimai" and his sisters "amí". These terms are extended to his parallel cousins both on his father's and mother's side. The children of his father's brothers, and his mother's sisters, he calls "anyiná," if male, and "ani," if female. His cross-cousins he addresses as follows: "keramái", the sons of his mother's brother, which is equivalent to brother-in-law; "nyohé" the daughters of his mother's brother; "avimái", the sons of his father's sister; and "haí haó", the daughters of his father's sister.

There is a striking resemblance between the terms which he employs to indicate his grandchildren and his grandparents. The children of his daughter, if boys, he will refer to as "hiamai," if girls, "hiatokwi." The children of his son, on the other hand, if boys, he will call "hadamai," and if girls "hadatokwi." His grandfather on his father's side he calls "hadaoteh." His grandmother

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

524
323
532

a pole. In general, therefore, organized play for child or adult is hardly present.

WAR

726
173
175

The Yaruros did not speak much of war. None of their legends make any reference to it except in one case which says that they were killed by the "Racionales" and that they retaliated.* The known historical sources say nothing except Father Gumilla's account, which makes reference to the pacification of the "Saruri."

MORAL ATTITUDES

183
577

On the subject of conduct, the outlook on life and the organization of life values, we must distinguish between theory and practice. The former grows out of reflection and represents the intellectualization of the universe as seen without much reference to practical life. The second springs from the social and economic relationships and the fusing of individual ends and purposes into the purposes and ends of the group, whereas the first is not strictly controlled by custom and practical needs. Both exist among the [791] Yaruros. For the first we have to turn to the shaman, who in addition to being a religious leader, a savant, is also a moralist; and for the second we turn to the entire social group and need to watch it in its behavior.

175
171
114

In reading over the early account of the aborigines of the region, among which we must presumably include Yaruros, we gather that their moral concepts were different from those of the Christians, but perhaps neither better nor worse in practice. It must be doubted, however, whether a number of practices attributed to the Yaruros are authentic. We read, for instance, that a number of the aborigines were patricides, and we are given a picture of the male children, on reaching adolescence, rising against the fathers [682] through lust for the mother. Patricide is an abhorrent crime and [683] the motive behind it is equally abhorrent. It is to be doubted whether patricide, or even lesser acts, such as beating the father, were ever practiced, except in sporadic cases such as may occur in [684] any society. It hardly seems possible that women were the cause of it when it is known, as it is known today, that mating and extramarital relationships are very strictly controlled by tradition and social training. Disregarding, therefore, such allusions to the moral life of the primitive peoples of the Orinoco, let us turn to our informants for an understanding of their present mode of life. The

000

* It would appear probable that the nomadic Yaruros were too weak to ever develop any warlike spirit.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

criticism of Kuma, and there is even an implication that she always acts with the greatest wisdom.

THE LAND OF KUMA

Kuma lives in the west, apparently beyond the horizon. In the month of March and in early April, about 9 o'clock in the evening, there is a glow in the western sky, a beautiful phenomenon, which the Yaruros explained is the reflection from Kuma's land. Its exact geographic position does not seem to be known and is as hazy as a Catholic's idea of the position of Heaven. For instance, we are told that the stars are both the lights from Kuma Land and the people from that land walking about at night, and yet the Land of Kuma is localized somewhere in the west.

This land is described sometimes as a vast and clean savanna, treeless and full of game, and at other times as a savanna with a huge town in which Kuma and her people live. This latter conception springs from the association the modern Yaruros have between wealth, comfort, power, and those material things which the civilized peoples possess. Towns are included among the products of the civilized. In the same way we find that although the Yaruros are a horseless people, Kuma and her people seem to have an abundance of horses. Apparently those things which are denied the Yaruros in this land are to be found in the next and shamanism is the means of expressing the longings of the living Yaruros.

THE LAND OF KIBEROH

In contrast with the beautiful world in which Kuma lives and to which all Yaruros expect to go, Kiberoh rules over a dark land inhabited by those unfortunate races of mankind left in the hole when the rope dropped by Hatchawa was broken by a too-heavy pregnant woman. Not much is known, nor is there much interest on the part of the Yaruros about this unpleasant region. However, this must not be taken that they have a belief in hell as Father Gumilla reported. According to this author the Yaruros believed in an evil spirit called Tighitighi. On the contrary, my informants identified Tighitighi merely as a large hawk which has no relation to the devil.

PUANÁ

Puaná stands out as the indulgent parent and teacher of Hatchawa. He is also the artisan who invented all of the implements now used by the Yaruros. He is conceived of as the great snake, and in fact is so portrayed on the gourd rattles of the shamans, yet there is a

621
114

Yaruros of Laguneta. Note carrying baskets, digging sticks, bows and arrows. The author is standing at extreme right.

(End Plate 7)

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Most direct

622 [191 177] commands, in so far as I was able to observe, were made in Spanish![4] — essentially in acculturation contexts. In general, they concerned village care, small services, and the like. No occasion was observed of commanding older men, except for a married youth of 19, who was the youngest adult male in the village. The two or three commands he received during my stay went unnoticed, and, in one or two instances, were even directly contravened. The capitans of the Cinaruco river group and of Palmarito de Guachara both consistently complained that no one paid enough attention to them, and the Palmarito chief complained that he never was kept [571] sufficiently informed of events by his people. The fact is that people do pretty much as they choose in all important decision-making situations which do not involve the community at large, or the relationship of some member of the community or the entire group to outsiders.[5] In the former situation, the chief serves as a consultative funnel through which the community discussion pours back and forth until the community achieves some clear but unstated consensus upon which 622 648 community members can act, individually of course. Only in the situations dealing [554] with outside groups does the Yaruro capitanship emerge as a more developed status which might metaphorically be described as a position similar to that of a minister of foreign relations. In behalf of his group, he talks with any representatives of outside groups, especially if they are non-Yaruro, and acts as gatherer of information and as channel of communication between the community and the outside entity. Even this is weakened, however, since it applies more by courtesy than by fact among the Yaruro themselves, and other members of the community may perform the same function even if to a somewhat smaller degree. It is also weakened in that no Yaruro is prevented from acting on his own with respect to non-Yaruro outsiders, and, in fact, many Yaruro do establish their own relationships with outsiders as a number of instances attested. Indeed, the rights of the individual members of the society to make their own decisions, at least internally if not also [682] externally, is insisted on. In one instance, a chief who took it upon himself to

[4] Commands and other stress situations, which generally appear to be uncongenial to the Yaruro and more overt as the people have been more subject to acculturation, seem to elicit from the Yaruro Spanish responses rather than Yaruro ones. It is as though it were not fitting to utter commands or express anger in Yaruro. Thus, the few times noisy altercation was heard among the Cinaruco Yaruro, the language used was Spanish. The chief's commands and his overt anger were always expressed in Spanish, even if he had just before been speaking in Yaruro. Though anger may often be felt, it is not shown if the participants are expressing themselves in Yaruro. Thus, the chief scolded one of the village boys for riding one of the recently acquired burros — in Spanish; he ordered a 19-year old young man to do some task — in Spanish; he complained of the actions of one of the village elders in taking on the job of guide without first consulting him (though he would certainly have permitted it) — in Spanish. [578] [152] [191]

[5] Cf. Leeds, 1960 a, with respect to the place of individual action in Yaruro society. Though there is individual action, choice, and responsibility, these are all carried out as an aspect of community organization and essentially with community affirmation. A person is not an individual set in counterpoint to his society — there is no polarity of individual-society, as we, in our culture, generally seem to conceive. Individualism in the latter sense does not exist among the Yaruro. The Yaruro should not be mistaken for an individualistic culture, as, I suspect, several of the cultures described as individualistic in Mead, 1937, should not have been. [181] [114]

46 433 sacre, the labor force actually observed in "my" group was a little more than 25% of that number, or 18, and neighboring groups were generally still smaller. These 154, 67, and especially the actual 18 workers, even if, at any given moment, *all* were working at subsistence activities, would be distributed over various parts of the 110 square miles of territory under the kind of dispersive habitat and technological conditions described. They are in fact so thinly scattered as to preclude any sort of continuing managerial functions.

V

241 433 A consideration of the forms of the harvest surplus[39] is relevant to our discussion. Harvest surpluses must be considered with respect both to individual subsistence resources and to all subsistence resources taken together. In the annual cycle, there is considerable variation in the amount produced of any given crop, except for sweet and bitter manioc which together constitute perhaps 40% of the annual food supply of the Yaruro. Manioc produces throughout the year. Given that the manioc-growing areas are widely dispersed and that considerable labor is drawn from manioc areas by still more dispersed resources, it follows that most work units for manioc gardens will consist of only one or two men, each having their own swidden or sharing it with one or two others to supply themselves and their immediate families throughout the year. As might be expected, land tenure and land usage patterns are in accord with this inference. Occasionally small oscillations in the manioc crops may produce small harvest surpluses. These, at least nominally, belong to the man in whose swidden they grow and are his for disposal. The quantities, however, are exceedingly small, and present no problems of storage or disposal necessitating more centralized supervision and allocation. Most other resources display a similar pattern though to an even smaller degree. 262 Fish are obtainable, for the Cinaruco Yaruro, all year round with almost equal ease, though the Palmariteños have a more difficult time because of the grassy and muddy waters in the rainy season. Hunting windfalls and large pigs are the only animal sources which present harvest surpluses of any size. However, these are small enough so that they last at most two or three days, and they are so irregular both as to occurrence and as to personnel involved that no regular centralized [251] institutional mode of handling them is entailed. The virtual absence of meat storage [171] (for example, in the Trobriand Islands, in a good year, all the yams harvested cannot be eaten at once, nor can they be stored. Some portion of the crop is then lost by spoilage. We may construct, in terms of calories or other significant food values, two ratios:

[146 464] $\frac{C_h}{C_p}$ $\frac{C_c}{C_h}$

C — Calories
c — consumed
p — potential
h — harvested (= available for use)

The first may be used as a measure of the efficiency of the productive capacity of the technology; the second as a measure of the efficiency of the distributive capacity of the technology.

[39] The technological, producers, and harvest surpluses are defined in Harris, 1958, [114] and implied in Harris, 1959. They are dealt with in detail with respect to the Yaruro in Leeds, 1961. Other relevant discussions of surplus are found Sahlins, 1958; Jacobs and Stern, 1952, Ch VI.

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

133
137
along the west-to-east flowing rivers in ribbons some kilometers wide. Most significant fauna and flora of economic use occur in these ribbons. This ecological distribution of resources governs subsistence activities whether they be mainly hunting, fishing, collecting, or horticulture.

241
433
Yaruro subsistence comprises all these activities. (2). Horticulture in the rainy season appears considerably to outweigh all other sources of food together, but in the dry season, hunting, fishing, and collecting perhaps equal or outstrip horticulture. In any case, slash and burn gardening of manioc, corn, plantains, and a number of lesser crops is by far the single most important economic activity. The technology is exceedingly simple in all aspects of
[442] production, the main tools being the machete and digging stick. The most elaborate technology occurs in the conversion of food into edibles and in the manufacture of hammocks, pottery, objects of wood such as canoes, and woven containers of all types.

462
The economic organization displays a sharp division of labor between men's and women's work. Men do all hunting and fishing, make all objects of wood, haul lumber and householding materials, make hammocks, and carry out the heavy labor of gardening. Women do most of the collecting of roots,
[222] seeds, and fruits. Since collecting contributes a substantial portion of the food supply in summer, woman's contribution, here, is of considerable communal importance. Women's work, a continuous activity from dawn to dusk, is, first, the conversion of raw foodstuffs into edibles. Second, women make all pottery, mats and baskets, the manioc squeezers, and much of the cord used to make hammocks. Another important contribution of women is their help in harvesting in the gardens. Men sometimes help the women with the cookery.

[476] Men may work alone, in groups of 2 or 3, or in larger groups on rare occasions. No occasion exists for all men to work at a single task since there is no technological need for it. Women's work groups for collecting or householding are of similar size. Work group alignments are often based on choice or
[592] accident but in other instances coresidence and kinship are determinants. The household, however, constitutes the only really necessary cooperative group for production. The man is a funnel for produce which the woman converts to

● 114
[122]
(2) The present description applies to the Cinaruco River Yaruro where the major part of the writer's field work, supported by a grant from the Social Science Research Council, was done. The Capanaparo River Yaruro were reported by Petrullo (1939) and Le Besnerais (1948) as being hunters and gatherers, although Le Besnerais observed small horticultural patches which he claimed were diffusions from Venezuelan farmers which had occurred recently. Le Besnerais in 1954 states directly that they were horticulturalists, omitting any mention of possible diffusions from Venezuelans. The passing mention of horticulture by Fiasson (1947) confirms the present writer in his opinion that, although horticulture may be more restricted on the Capanaparo than on the Cinaruco and Cunaviche-Arauca (where the writer also spent several weeks) which are not discussed at all by Petrullo or Le Besnerais, nevertheless, the absence of horticulture is probably not aboriginal with the Yaruro as has been suggested by Kirchhoff (1948, p. 456). Rather the restricted gardening is a result of ecological conditions on the Capanaparo which are less favorable to horticulture than on the neighboring rivers, combined with extremely violent acculturation, including large-scale massacres of natives. The only other possibility, in my opinion, is that horticulture was introduced by the missionaries in the early part of the
[797 177] Eighteenth Century, which is certainly the period when the Yaruro first became acquainted with iron tools (cf Lodares, 1922).

/109/

101 The Yaruro Indians, who among themselve call themselves by the term "pumę," live in the Venezuelan llanos, the tropical savannas that border the left bank of the Orinoco. They are fishermen, hunters, gatherers, and agriculturalists whose original culture has already greatly changed. All of their past
197 is not yet known. As to their dialect, it has not as yet been classified in any of the known South American linguistic fami-
● 114 lies. The observations that make up this article come from investigations made on the spot by the author between 1947 and 1950.

I. The Territory
(see Map 1)[1]

131 a) Boundaries.

At the present time the territory populated by the Yaruro Indians lies approximately between 6.30 and 7.30 degrees north latitude and 67 and 69.30 degrees west longitude.

The bulk of the population, which was the subject of our investigations, lives along the banks of the Capanaparo and one of its tributaries, the Riecito, that is, on some 400 kilometers of river.

The rest are dispersed north of the Capanaparo, on the Arauca, the Cunaviche, and the neighboring rivers, and, to the south, on the banks of the Orinoco between the mouths of the Capanaparo and the Cinaruco and near the rivers located between the Capanaparo, the Riecito, and the Cinaruco.

b) Neighbors.

101 The whole region located north of the Capanaparo, the banks of the Orinoco, and part of the banks of the Capanaparo itself -- going upstream, the northern part up to the junction with the Riecito and the southern part on 220 kilometers up to the Madre Vieja Basiliero -- are populated by Venezuelan peasants, the llaneros, who thus occupy part of the Yaruro territory.

[1][See p. 3. —Analyst]

/120 cont./

Y 16 These 519 Yaruro live along 400 kilometers of river, which gives an average density of 13 inhabitants for 10 kilometers of river. This average conceals considerable variance from one place to another in this part of their territory. On the first 220 kilometers of the Capanaparo starting from the mouth, that is, up to the last Venezuelan farm on the south bank (Madre Vieja Basiliero), the density is 10 inhabitants to ten kilometers. From kilometer 220 up to the mouth of the Riecito (near which the last Venezuelan farm on the Capanaparo is located) the density doubles and goes to 20.5 per ten kilometers and to 24.5 between this latter point and the mouth of the Rio Caribe. On the Riecito the density drops back to 9 inhabitants per ten kilometers of river.

V 16 The density of the Venezuelans on the two banks, between the mouth of the Capanaparo and the Riecito, allowing an average of eight inhabitants for each farm, is 13.5 inhabitants per ten kilometers of river up to the Madre Vieja Basiliero and 16 from the Madre Vieja Basiliero up to the Riecito.

We shall consider the interpretations that these figures have been given in another article.

Y 16 [114] For the rest of the Yaruro population dispersed to the north and south of this region, whom we have not visited, we can only rely on some estimates. With reference to the Cunaviche, who appear to have ten communities, Pastor Juan Van Kompen(2)

2. Evangelical missionary established at San Fernando de Apure, Apure State, Venezuela.

has quoted us a figure of 300, which is without doubt higher than the reality. The Indians on their part have given us a figure of 64 for five communities located between the Capanaparo and the Cinaruco, and for two others, one located between the Capanaparo and the Riecito and the other /121/ on the Cinaruco, respectively 17 and 11. These last estimates are certainly more accurate.

/7 cont./
121 carried by the latter the only causes for it, as was the case
174 for numerous tribes after the arrival of the Spaniards, or should one also search for other more distant ones?

/8/ Our investigations have not furnished us with any direct answer to these questions. We should not try to give any as long as there have not been carried out comparative studies of language--up to the present their dialect has not been linked with any of the known large linguistic families of South America --and culture with the other societies of tropical South America--and perhaps also of more distant regions. As for the ties which might have united them formerly with the Otomaco, for the same reasons we cannot say more about them than what they say themselves (see "infra": II Notes on the Otomaco) as a complement to Angel Rosenblat's study on the Otomaco and Taparita (2).

2. Id. 54.

b) Way of life

114 Relying on Vicenzo Petrullo's investigations (3), Alfred
174

3. Id. 52.

Métraux (4) extends to the Yaruro the alternative he poses with

4. Id. 45.

regard to the way of life of certain tribes occupying the drainage basin of the Orinoco and the Amazon, which contrasts by its primitiveness--the absence of agriculture and nomadism--with that of the majority of the tribes of these same regions, who practice agriculture (5). He writes: "Are these Indians

/8 cont./

114
174
177
241
197

5. This paragraph had been published when we learned of Anthony Leeds' articles (see "infra" IV List...42 and 43). The latter considers that agriculture, which exists among the Yaruro, as we acknowledge further along, was introduced by missionaries at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

descendants of the first inhabitants, hunters and gatherers who invaded South America at the beginning of the Neolithic Age, as Father Cooper suggests, or are they groups of Indians who after diverse vicissitudes have degenerated and adapted their civilization to a new way of life, as Levi-Strauss insists?"

121 Immigrants or not, hunters, fishers, and gatherers who evolved, or agriculturists who regressed, we shall not make a choice here between these alternatives and shall limit ourselves to presenting two observations which, gone into more deeply, will eventually permit opting in favor of one of the theses before us.

137
241 1) The tropical savanna inhabited by the Yaruro, as a consequence of the absence of extensive forests, is hardly propitious for primitive agriculture. The latter could, however, be carried out there on a small scale.

114
121
241 The Yaruro, in fact, and contrary to Vicenzo Petrullo's observations, are not only gatherers, fishers, and hunters, but also practice agriculture, in general on land cleared in the forest corridors. Petrullo probably did not observe this aspect of their way of life (6) because he carried out his investigations

6. We made, moreover, the identical error in the course of our first investigations (see "infra" IV List...40).

at the height of the dry season--when the soil /9/ is no longer

/9 cont./

114 productive and the Yaruro are living mainly on sandy shores, 121 leading the life of fishers and nomadic gatherers--and limited 241 them to the lower Capanaparo. There these Indians do not [64] work the land, or at least very little; apparently for reasons [464] linked with the proximity of Venezuelan peasants, such as: interdiction on the part of the latter who, with or without title, are masters of the land, the risk of being overrun by the free-roaming livestock, or simply work as peons on the farms, which would hardly allow them time to cultivate the land.

241 In fact, agriculture is only practiced on certain portions of their territory and particularly on those where they do not have contact with the Venezuelan peasants. This statement excludes at first sight the recent acquisition of it from the latter. Such a deduction is moreover corroborated by the accounts of the Jesuits (7) who lived for a while in the region in the eigh-

7. See "infra" IV List...2.

teenth century and who already described them as agriculturists--without specifying whether they had been before their arrival--and by the present Yaruro themselves, who affirm that they all formerly had conucos (8). But these points still do not

8. Kitchen gardens, in Venezuelan.

allow us to assert that they were in possession of the technique in the pre-Hispanic period.

172 2) The region, on the other hand, is rich in archaeological sites containing objects (pottery remains, figurines of baked clay and lignite, polished stone axes, funeral urns) which are of a completely different make from those made by the present-day Yaruro, who, moreover, do not recognize them as being of their making. Is it a question of remains of objects of forerunners or remains of objects of the Otomaco, who at the time of the Jesuits apparently lived in the present-day territory

103
114
342
361
551
622
631

I. STATEMENT OF COMPLEMENTARY OBSERVATIONS ON THE COMMUNITIES OF THE YARURO (29)

29. For date of observations, location of communities on the Capanaparo and Riecito rivers, and description of habitation types, see "infra" IV List ...36.

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30)					Remarks on Sites
			Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	
On the Capanaparo River:									
1	Carlos José Delgado, then, after his death, his wife Severiana.	Santa Ana		2					According to Vicente Petrullo's (31) investi-
2	José Ledema	a) Lagunota abandoned for:		5					Same community as Petrullo's Lagunota (31).
	or Juan Esteban Bellas (in the absence of the former)	b) Potrerito	x (32)	x		x			which was situated beside the Venezuelan farm of Piedra Azul.
3	Adán Matute	Potrero Grande		4 to 6					The summer encampment located on a shore and not observed is called San Luis.

30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...36.

31. See "infra" IV List...52.

gations, the community was called Las Mercedes and was located near the Venezuelan farm of the same name.

31. See "infra" IV List...52.

32. "x" indicates unenumerated habitations.

6:Lc Besnerais--13a E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

6:Le Besnerais--13b E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...30. Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	Remarks on Sites
4	Marcelio Castillo	3 sites occupied simultaneously: a) Guacharaca		2					
		b) Agua Linda	2						
		c) Médano Alto		1					At the time of the observations (29), the site 28. /See footnote 29 above./ had only one type II 1 a habitation, temporarily occupied by one ♂, 2 ♀, and 2 children who were to return to Guacharaca.
5	Ramón Beltrán	Médano Alto		5		5			
8	Pedro Ramón Camacho (33)	a) Guamacho abandoned for:		3 to 4				x	
		33. The underlined names are those of higher chiefs (in Spanish: capitán mayor) with greater authority than the other chiefs (in Spanish: capitán menor). This authority generally extends to the neighboring communities sometimes directed by a capitán menor and grouped together on this table by wavy lines.							
	His actual authority over Ramón Beltrán is contested.	b) (island opposite it)		3 to 4				x	The island was later abandoned for a site farther upstream.

103
●114
342
361
551
622
631

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...36. Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	Remarks on Sites
7	Ezequiel Pedroza	Merecurito		x		x		x	
8	Ramón Jesús Caravajal (named by the Venezuelans) (34) 34. "Named by the Venezuelans" means that he was designated or confirmed as chief by a representative of the Venezuelan authorities.	Magdalena							
		or Caravajal	2			x			
9	Antonio Perasa (named by the Venezuelans and not recognized by the Yaruro)	San José and San Luis	3			x			The winter habitations are invisible from the bank. The summer encampment located on a shore is at San Luis.
10	José Carmen Garcillo	2 sites occupied simultaneously a) Santa Rosa			1				
		b) Caño Amarillo	2						

6:Le Besnerais--13c E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...36. Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	Remarks on Sites
11	Andrés or Juan Pío (subordinate of Bernardino Agustín Lopez, surnamed Venado —see community no. 18)	Paso El Robo (briefly occupied) then simultaneously Vuelta Mala 1 and Vuelta Mala 2	x x			x x			
13	Santo Romillo Lopez (named by the Venezuelans)	Chaparal or (Vuelta Mala) or (Barranca)	2					x	The type I habitations are located 400/500 m. from the bank.
13	Jacinto Lopez father of the preceding (named by the Venezuelans)	El Rosario	1						The community is located near a forest and a spring of clear water coming from the savanna.
14	Judo Arcaya	Manguito	1						
15	Bernardino Agustín Lopez surnamed Venado; also has authority over Andrés or Juan Pío (see comm. no. 11). (no doubt named by the Ven.)	El Cedroso	2				1	1	The summer encampment is located on an island downstream from the mouth of the Riecito.

103
●114
342
361
551
622
631

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...38.						Remarks on Sites
			Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	
16	Ramón Díaz	El Calbote	3				5	3	The type I habitations are located about 300 m. from the bank.
17	Castillo	La Gavinera	5				x		
18	Simón Pacheco	Merecurito	1						
19	Simón Pacheco	Argentina	3			x			
20	Billegas	Argentina	x						The habitations are located on the savanna far from the bank.
21	Billegas	Garici	1 to 2			x			
22	José Lopes (named by the Venezuelans)	Matacaballo	3						The habitations are far from the bank.
23	Eloy	Monte Zamuro (La Patilla)		x		x			

6:Le Beau'erais--13e E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

103
114
342
341
551
622
631

8:Le Beslerais--13f E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...36.						Remarks on Sites
			Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	
On the Riecito River:									
24	?	?	2						The habitations are located about 200 m. from the bank.
25	Cecilio (Cecilito)	Manguito	6 to 7						The habitations are located 1 km. 600 from the bank. They are surrounded by mango trees.
26	Felipe (Felipito)	?	2			1		1	
27	Jerónimo	?	x					x	The summer encampment is set up under some trees.
28	Gregorio	?	1						
29	José Blanco	?	2			3		1	
30	Luis	?	4	1		5		8	

/17 cont./

113 12. Codazzi, Agustín, Resumen de la geografía de Venezuela /Summary of the Geography of Venezuela/. 3 vols. Paris, 1841. Biblioteca venezolana de Cultura. Caracas, 1940.

13. Crevaux, Jules Nicolas, Bibliothèque linguistique américaine. Vol. VIII, 1882 (vocabularies).

14. Crevaux, Jules Nicolas, Voyages dans l'Amérique du Sud /Voyages in South America/. Paris, 1883.

15. Cruxent, José Maria, (Vocabularios chiricoa, guahibo, yaruro, piaroa /Vocabularies of the Chiricoa, Guahibo, Yaruro, and Piaroa/). Unpublished notes. 1947.

16. Dickey, Herbert Spencer, "A été en 1926 avec Miguel Cardona (Instituto de Folklore, Caracas, Venezuela) à la recherche d'un crâne sur le río Tomo en Colombie et aurait rencontré des Yaruro" /sic/.

17. Dreyfus-Roche, Simone (cf. 41).

18. Fabo, Pedro, "Etnografía y lingüística de Casanare, Colombia /Ethnography and linguistics of the Casanare, Colombia/," Anthropos, 1919-1920, p. 21.

19. Fiasson, Jeannine, De l'Orénoque à la Tamise /From the Orinoco to the Tamise/. Algiers, 1946.

20. Fiasson, Jeannine, Llanos, terres brutales /Grande prairie vénézuélienne) /The Llanos, Brutal Lands (The Great Venezuelan Prairie)/. Paris, 1956.

21. Fiasson, Raymond, "Algunos aspectos científicos del Apure /Some Scientific Aspects of the Apure/," El Agricultor Venezolano, year XII, No. 127, November, 1947.

22. Fiasson, Raymond, Des Indiens et des Mouches /On Indians and Flies/. Tournai, 1960.

23. Fiasson, Raymond, (Vocabulaire yaruro /Yaruro Vocabulary/). Unpublished notes.

● [114] 24. Forneri, R.P., " 'Epitome' sur la langue yaruro /'Compendium' on the Yaruro Language/," annotated /18/ by Humboldt. (37). Work noted by:

/18 cont./

113
114

37. This work has been searched for in:
    1) Spain; without success at the National Library and at those of the Athenaeum and the Royal Palace (Madrid). The library of the "Real Academia de Historia" (Madrid) and the "Archivo de Indias" (Seville) have not given a definite answer.
    2) France; without success at the Bibliothèque Nationale and at that of the Musée de l'Homme (Paris).
    3) Italy (Vatican). Without success at the Jesuits' Library "Borgo S. Spirito" and at that of the "Propaganda Fide." The Vatican Library, which received the estate "Stefano Borgia" from the "Propaganda Fide," where the "Manuscrit sur la langue des Yaruro" (cf. 62) might well be, has not given a definite answer.
    4) U.S.A. Without success at the Library of Congress, in the National Union Catalog, which includes the books of some 500 libraries of the country, and at the Bureau of American Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution (Washington).
    5) Venezuela. Without success in all the public and private libraries of the country.

a/ Hervas y Panduro, Lorenzo, Catálogo de las lenguas...(cf. 29).

b/ Oramas, Luis Ramón, "Contribución al estudio..." (cf. 48). (According to Oramas, Forneri's " 'Epitome'..." and the "Manuscrit sur la langue des Yaruro" (cf. 62) may be one and the same work).

/18 cont./

113
[114]

c/ Chamberlain, A.F., "Sur quelques familles linguistiques..." (cf. 11). (Chamberlain writes that "according to Ludewig (?) Forneri's "Epitome"...may be a rather extensive grammar and vocabulary which could well be the material Humboldt had and which he deposited in the Royal Library of Berlin, where it remains still unpublished.")

25. Gilli, Filippo Salvadore, Saggio di storia americana; o sia storia naturale, civile e sacra de regni, e delle provincie spagnole di Terra-Ferma nell'America Meridionale descritto dall'abate. F. S. Gilij /Essay on American History; or the Natural, Civil, and Religious History of the Kingdom, and of the Spanish Province of Terra Firma in South America described by the Abbot F. S. Gilij/. 4 vols. Rome, 1780-1784. (vocabulary Vol. 3.)
26. Gumilla, Joseph, El Orinoco Ilustrado y Defendo. Historia natural, civil y geográfica de este gran río, y de sus caudalosas vertientes /The Orinoco Explained and Justified. The Natural, Civil and Geographic History of This Great River, and of its Rich Flow/. Madrid, 1745; Barcelona, 1791. (Second edition of Manuel Fernandez.)
27. Harcourt, Raoul d', "Pièces archéologiques des Llanos vénézuéliens /Archaeological Fragments from the Venezuelan Llanos/," Miscellanea Paul Rivet Octogenario dicata, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Mexico, Vol. II, pp. 153-158. Mexico, 1958.
28. Hervas y Panduro, Lorenzo, "Arithmetica delle nazioni e division del tempo fra l'Orientali /Arithmetic of the Nations and the Division of Time among the Orientals/," Idea dell'Universo, Vol. XIX.
29. Hervas y Panduro, Lorenzo, Catálogo de las lenguas de los naciones conocidas, y numeración, división, y clases de estas según la diversidad de sus idiomas y dialectos

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Some Problems of Yaruro Ethnohistory*

Anthony Leeds

I was first led to consider Yaruro history because the ethnographic phenomena I found differed radically from those described by Petrullo (1939 *a*). Only historical research could resolve these differences. I shall first examine the discrepancies, then turn to the kinds of historical sources relevant to resolving the problems and to some of the material already examined, and, finally, briefly discuss the direction that the results appear to be taking.

I

Petrullo, describes the Yaruro of the Capanaparo River as being hunters of river and llanos animals, fishers of river fish, and gatherers of seeds, roots, and fruits. He denies the presence of horticulture, except among a few "acculturated" groups. As far as the monograph informs us, he visited only Yaruro near the mouth of the Capanaparo and on islands in the Orinoco during the months of the dry season. He did not visit the Arauca, Cunaviche, upper Capanaparo, Riecito, and Sinaruco rivers, on all of which Yaruro are found today, and apparently have been living indefinitely into the past, according to old maps.[1] On the basis of the groups visited, he asserts that the Yaruro were not horticultural. Kirchhoff (1948 *a*: 456) repeats this assertion, adding that Gilij (1780-1784: Vol. 3) mentions the use of green corn — a sign, according to Kirchhoff, of the recent adoption of corn at that time. No basis is given for this statement. Le Besnerais, in several publications (1948; 1950*a;* 1951; and, with Dreyfus-Roche, 1954), repeats that the Yaruro were hunters and gatherers, but, in his most recent work (1950 *b;* 1954; Ms.; Personal communication,

* I wish to thank Juan Friede for a number of bibliographical suggestions. The research is being supported by the American Philosophical Society and the Research Institute for the Study of Man. My thanks and appreciation go to both.

1 Cf. maps listed in the special section of the bibliography, many of which show the location of the Yaruro, Otomaco, Achagua ("as Chaguas"), Sáliva, Aruaca, Caribe, or a number of other tribes at various points in history.

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

1959), on the basis of later field research, he completely rejects his previous stand.

In 1949, after his earlier publications, Le Besnerais (cf. 1954) made a census of the entire Capanaparo and Riecito rivers, discovering among other things:

A) That most Yaruro settlements had dry season locations on or near the river, banks or on the sand bars in the river, and wet season locations back from the rivers on higher sand dunes,

B) that there were corresponding house types for each kind of location,

C) that a great many of these settlements appear to have had two divisions mainly in the wet season locations — often at considerable distances from each other, sometimes very close,

D) that near all winter locations and in all settlements along the entire length of the Riecito and Capanaparo rivers gardens existed with standard crops mentioned in my own work (1961 *a*, 1962),

E) and, by implication, that these garden plots are not readily visible from the river nor from dry season locations.

Fiasson (1947), speaking of a trip probably made in 1943, mentions gardens for the Yaruro in the Capanaparo-Meta area. The missionary, Raymond Kook, showed me pictures in 1958 of gardens on the upper Sinaruco. And, in the neighborhood of the mission station, near Guachara and along the Caño del Medio and the Cunaviche River, all the Indians had horticulture. These Indians also reported gardens along the Arauca River. The linguist, Thomas P. Rootes, describes gardens along the Riecito and Sinaruco, and I have myself published in detail on Yaruro horticulture (1961 *a*).

In sum, present sources indicate horticulture for all Yaruro, going back at least to 1943 or 1946 and undoubtedly earlier — a period at maximum no more than twelve years after Petrullo's *dry-season* visit in 1934. It is hard to believe that the horticultural practice was diffused the length and breadth of Yaruro-land and integrated into a well-organized transhumance and even into the world view all in fifteen years. Nevertheless belief is not adequate proof. The only recourse is to try to resolve the problem by earlier evidence.

The second major difference between my findings and those of Petrullo relates to the asserted existence of matrilineal "clans", characterised, in localities, by a sib core of women and their children plus the locally-inmarried husbands. Nowhere in Petrullo is proof given for the *unilineality* which is implied by the term clan, though the *matrifocality* seems genuinely confirmed by the genealogies reproduced. Matrifocality is not congruent with matrilineality, and, try as I might, I was not able to establish the latter. I am not ready to assert that matrilineality therefore does not, or did not, exist but I was quite unable to elicit any evidence for it.

A related aspect is, of course, exogamy. Petrullo claims that marriage can only occur reciprocally between the two clans, marriage *within* which would

7: Leeds E-4, 5. (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

constitute incest. I believe one can show from Petrullo's own genealogies that either incest occurred, possibly as a result of the process of depopulation, or that clan exogamy did not exist at all, since there were no clans, and the marriages concerned were not incestuous.

A third important feature that Petrullo asserts existed among the Yaruro is matrilateral cross-cousin marriage. Aside from the fact that, associated with the matriliny Petrullo's matriclans would possess, one would theoretically expect patrilateral cross-cousin marriage, if preferential cross-cousin marriage existed at all, I was unable to confirm unilateral cross-cousin marriage preferences but got statements of preference for bilateral cross-cousin marriage as well as reports of bilateral cross-cousin marriage and bilateral marriages between an ego and a parallel cousin's offspring.[2]

A fourth important feature discussed by Petrullo is totemism. The clans are assertedly connected respectively with the snake god Poanã and the jaguar god, Tió. Not only was I unable to confirm this, but the ethnographic evidence, on the whole, appears to contradict it directly. Totemism, for example, would be quite inconsistent with the social organization of the *toŋ'be* ceremony, the central socio-religious institution of the Yaruro which I have described elsewhere (1960, 1961 *b;* cf., also, Le Besnerais, 1951, 1950 *b*, and, with Dreyfus-Roche, 1954).

Thus we have not only ethnographic disagreement among three observers, but also the theoretical improbability of the original description which attaches matrilineal clanship to hunting and gathering nomadism, and to matrliateral cross-cousin marriage. Virtually all further published anthropological material on the Yaruro has taken the Petrullo report at face value. Some of these publications include a caveat about the report, but, unfortunately, others have, explicitly or implicitly, assumed its correcteness since they have used it as the starting point for historical, functional, or evolutionary reconstructions.[3]

Specifically the assertion is repeatedly made by Steward, Kirchhoff, and Steward and Faron that the Yaruro are one of a series of marginal tribes left over from an earlier wave of settlement and occupying interstitial areas among more advanced peoples. Steward (1946-1950, in various passages, esp. Vol. 5, pp. 678 *ff.*) tries to justify the marginal classification generally by designating characteristic traits present as well as those that should be absent. The Yaruro possess a large number of the latter, including horticulture, basketry, canoes,

---

[2] The theoretical expectation of *patrilateral* cross-cousin marriage with matriliny is discussed in Homans and Schneider (1955, especially pp. 56-57) and elsewhere. The preference for bilateral marriage with cross-cousins or with offspring of parallel cousins is also found among the Jívaro (cf. Steward and Métraux, 1948, especially p. 626). This fact, with a great many similar traits of social organization and world view shared by the two cultures, is of considerable interest to the cultural origin of the groups discussed later in the paper where other parallels are mentioned.

[3] Cf. Kirchhoff, 1948, *a;* Steward, 1946-1950; Vol. 3, pp. 807-899; Vol. 5, pp. 669-679, *et passim;* Steward and Faron, 1959; Layrisse, *et al.*, 1961; Needham, 1960; Murdock, 1957.

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

thatched houses, pottery, etc., all of which are, according to Steward, Tropical Forest traits, consistent with that possession of horticulture which Le Besnerais and I both found for the Yaruro. Kirchhoff (1948 *a*: 436) and Steward (1946-1950: Vol. 5, p. 680) try to reinforce this argument by stating that Gilij's Eighteenth Century mention of the Yaruro's practice of eating green corn is proof of their recently having acquired corn-planting.

One can, just as well, argue to the contrary that, had they borrowed corn-use from the Spanish or any tribe long-accustomed to the utilization of corn, they would never have thought of using it green at all but rather yellow in the manner of their cultural creditors. Judging by both historical and present-day reports[4] of raiding, a pattern which appears to have been substantially elaborated in the area, we may argue that the use of green corn was one way of saving the crop from neighboring human predators and possibly from animal ones as well. In other words, eating green corn can well be considered an adaptive use of corn, possibly in an old pattern, given the ecological relationships of the area.

The Layrisse, *et al.*, article (1961) dismisses the horticulture that Le Besnerais and I find as being of recent origin but gives no basis for this judgement except that it makes more consistent their correlation of a population having a low or absent Diego antigen frequency with an older culture-layer and with various asserted linguistic connections. Such a procedure is scientifically not valid as proof, however useful it may be to set up hypotheses.

II

Clearly the only *final* resolutions to the ethnographic discrepancies are historical ones, however much logic may convince us that the introduction of horticulture to all Yaruro groups and its integration even into their mythology and social life in the fifteen years between Petrullo's and Le Besnerais' visits is unlikely. As for the social organization problem, all possible documentary evidence must be brought to bear.

Three major sources of historical reconstruction are potentially available — archeology, lingustics, and written history — as well as several minor lines of evidence.

First, linguistic reconstruction of genetic relationships would provide us with better hypotheses. If Greenberg's tentative classification (1956; cf., also, Steward and Faron, 1959: 22-23) is correct, the Yaruro are related to the Jívaro, the Cofan, the extinct Esmeralda speakers, and others, all of whom were, or are, actively horticultural peoples though the last named were also

[4] Cf. both Kirchhoff, 1948 *b*, and the sources he cites; Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1961; also my own observations.

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

significantly hunters and fishers. The distribution of these peoples suggests a geographical radiation from a common location that is implied as well by the relationships among the languages — probably from the west or southwest of present Yaruro country. Work on the centuries of separation, on the degrees of relationship of these languages among themselves and to other groups of the putative Andean-Equatorial family is urgently needed as is archeology in the supposed area of radiation.

Second, archeology would provide most interesting evidence. Petrullo (1939 *b*) collected a series of artifacts, mainly potsherds, which suggest a degree of culture well beyond minimal Tropical Forest level. Le Besnerais (Ms.) mentions not only the variety of potsherds to be found but also polished stone axes and funerary urns (cf., also, Vernau, 1901). I myself saw an immense number of crude, friable, slipped potsherds; many potsherds generally of the Arauquín type; a polished stone celt; a polished stone mano, beautifully made (cf. photo), and so on. None of these objects, except the crude potsherds, have been found in situ, but the Indians assert that they dig them up all the time.

The archeological items would suggest that cultures previously in the area, whether Yaruro or not, were horticultural. Though no archeology of any kind has been done in the South Venezuelan llanos, these meager indications suggest that the Kirchhoff-Steward hypothesis is erroneous since the Yaruro of our times could not be a remnant of aboriginal hunters and gatherers if the area was previously at a much higher cultural level. The general hypotheses of Cruxent and Rouse (1958-1959: 263 *ff.*) — especially that relating to a fusion between a western corn area and an eastern manioc area — would further tend to cast doubts on the whole Handbook scheme since the obvious routes for this fusion to have taken place are the great east-west llanos rivers. Archeological work is desperately needed here, and seems to me of central theoretical importance. It is hard to understand why so many workers have skirted the area.[5]

Before turning to written history I wish to take up some minor lines of evidence which are suggestive for the resolution of the ethnographic discrepancies. One has to do with the content of the ideology. Quite a number of items such as the earth mother, the ancestor cult, the serpent rainbow, the anaconda god, and so on (cf., Antolínez, 1939; Steward and Métraux, 1948, esp. p. 628; etc.), appear to connect the Yaruro with tribes to the west and southwest including the Chibcha and the Jívaro.

[5] No one has done systematic work in the llanos. Only sporadic finds have been made there (e. g., Petrullo, 1939 *b*; Vernau, 1901). The intensive archeological fieldwork has all been in the great circle around the llanos (cf. a great many works by Cruxent cited in Cruxent and Rouse, 1958-1959; Evans and Meggers, n.d.; Howard, 1943; Kidder, 1944; Marcano, 1893; Meggers and Evans, 1955; Osgood, 1943; Osgood and Howard, 1943; Rouse, 1956; Rouse and Cruxent, 1957, and many other Rouse articles listed in Cruxent and Rouse, 1958-1959. Cf., also, unpublished work by P. Gallagher, by M. Sanoja, and by E. Wagner.

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Second is the rate of deculturation. It is quite clear from comparing the material culture items observed by Petrullo with those that I observed, as well as from the present distribution of culture traits, which shows a gradient of trait loss as one goes from less acculturated to more acculturated groups, that the Yaruro once had a more elaborate culture content than at present. Though temporal extrapolations backwards can of course only be securely made by means of the written historical sources, items gleaned here and there from sources so far examined tend to confirm the inference from spatial distributions.[6] The implication of this is that the Yaruro were formerly considerably more complex, at least in their cultural content if not also in their cultural structure, than at the periods of ethnographic observation.

Third, a series of arguments concerning the ecological relations of the Yaruro to the land, and of the various tribes to each other and the food supply, could be presented which would suggest ecological specialization by tribal or subtribal groups among the Yaruro, Sáliva, Guahibo, Kuiva, Achagua, and Otomaco, all in a complex system (cf. Kirchhoff, 1948 *b*).

Fourth, an interesting ecological argument can be made which would resolve the disagreement about horticulture: that Petrullo's statement regarding horticulture might possibly be correct for the small, highly special area he studied and — the Orinoco sand bars and the estuary of the Capanaparo River in which wet-season flooding appears to be exceedingly extensive, hence sharply limiting horticultural possibilities — but that they do not apply to other zones of the llanos which do not have the ecological peculiarities of the river-mouth area.[7] I have discussed some aspects of this in previous publications, especially with regard to the importance of flooding, the area of gallery forest available for horticulture, and the pattern of transhumance (Leeds, 1961 *a*, especially pp. 13-18). An ecological-geographical survey of the entire region between the Orinoco highlands and the Andean spurs to the west is needed.

III

We may now turn to the question of written historical evidences. No published work on the Yaruro or the llanos has made use of much more than a dozen

---

[6] Cf. Crévaux, 1883: 570; Carrizso, 1910: 59; Acosta Saignes, 1961: 97, etc., as well as the loss of culture traits observable between Petrullo's and my visits.

[7] That this area is rather unique is clearly indicated by many maps which represent it as entirely flooded or as a welter of water-ways (cf. Gumilla, 1791). Acosta Saignes, in a foreword to Carvajal, points out that it was quite simple to mistake one river for another since, at least during the rainy season, they all flowed into each other near the mouth. The flooding makes any ordinary gardening impossible for a large part of the year. The hypothesis tends, however, to be contradicted by Le Besnerais's findings (1954; also, Leeds, 1961 *a*). It may be noted that in the almost absolutely flat Guachara area, between the Cunaviche and Arauca rivers, at the Indian village of Palmarito much of the llanos floods. The loamy-mud soils are excellent for crops, but crops are only grown in those areas which remain a few inches or a foot or two above highest rainy-season water-level.

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

social features reported, ideological features reported, and relations with other tribes mentioned. The card sets will be arranged by geographical location of the tribe so that for any given time period one may pull out all the sets and arrange the tribes in their spatial order. Thus for any time period a picture of the trait distributions, cultural-ecological conditions, inter-tribal socio-ecological relations, and acculturational-social contacts and events should be obtainable.

V

Though, to date, I have been concerned mainly with collecting bibliography and documentary materials rather than with their analysis, I should like to hazard several very tentative conclusions, or perhaps guesses, with respect to the ethnohistory of the llanos, and particularly of the Yaruro, based on the geographic, ethnographic, archeological, linguistic, and historical data known to me now. Some, however, are presented more as hypotheses for proof or disproof through continued research.

First, Petrullo's description is erroneous at least as respects the subsistence economy. Late Nineteenth Century travellers like Crévaux and Vela and several persons in this century mention horticulture. Still earlier reports go back to the earlier Eighteenth Century when missionaries speak of horticulture. Their reports apply to the Yaruro, Otomaco, Guahibo, and other groups. It has not yet been possible to decide whether they introduced or found horticulture among these peoples. Petrullo's error appears to have several explanations:

A) That he was incapacitated for several weeks by sore feet and was unable to travel about the land away from the rivers. In my experience, a careful criss-crossing of the land on foot is an absolute necessity if one is to know how these peoples carry on their subsistence activities. I have paced off with a pedometer the entire area used by the group I worked with. In the course of so doing I discovered all kinds of gardens, houses, and other evidences of their land use. These would not otherwise have been discovered by an observer nor mentioned by the Yaruro, since mainly what is physically present is, to them, worthy of mention.[10] I should say a great portion of my most important data came from such accidental discoveries made while walking about.

[10] I would stand at a certain spot in a garden and ask "Whose garden is this?" "Juan's." Then I might walk perhaps ten feet and say, "Juan keeps his garden well." "But this is not Juan's garden." "You just said that this was Juan's garden." "That was over there on the other side of that row of corn." This happened a number of times. I also asked once, "Is there female shamanism here?" "No." Several days later, a group from an neighboring village came to visit. After an all-night session of the *ton'be*, several women performed shamanistic rites. I said, "I thought you said there is no female shamanism here?" "There isn't anyone here [i. e. in our locality] who practices — these women are from upstream." The same cleaving to locus was observed with respect to time. I was told that Miguel was a shaman ("musico"). I said "Miguel, are you not a musico?" "I am not a musico. I cannot sing." A few weeks later, he was singing. I said,

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

B) Petrullo restricted his visits to the sand banks along and in the river, and, after his first arrival, most of his travelling was done on the streams. Gardens are never to be found on the sand banks and bars, but rather, usually, on the affluent creeks which are just above flood level of the rivers in the rainy season. Therefore he was not in a position to see the gardens which Le Besnerais later saw in the same area when he explored back from the river.

C) Petrullo was in the llanos in the dry season when the Yaruro move nearer the rivers both to secure a water supply as the water table lowers and to avail themselves of the much more plentiful and accessible river fauna[1] at a time when vegetable harvests are reduced because of drought. He was therefore observing dry-season subsistence — and perhaps only a part of it.

D) The probability that he observed only a part of the dry-season subsistence pattern in his area is reinforced by two considerations:

1) He reports the fact that 150 Yaruro had been massacred by Venezuelans a month before his arrival (p. 181). Their response under such circumstances is, as fast as possible, to get off the land that the Venezuelans want and to move to the rivers. I myself had occasion to observe such a diaspora, occurring in response to a smaller massacre. In view of this sort of response, it is likely, therefore, that Petrullo's group was living off river resources and away from their gardens at the time of his visit.

2) Maps indicate that in the lower part of the Capanaparo River, the flooding is greater and the number and size of side creeks suitable for horticulture is smaller than upstream on any of the large rivers. In other words, the available area for garden plots is much smaller, and riverine subsistence proportionately more important. Upriver, and more especially on the Sinaruco and on the middle and upper Cunaviche and Arauca rivers, there is much more tillable ground.

"I thought you said you could not sing and were not a musico?" "Yes, that was true last week when I had the grippe, but now my grippe is better I can be a musico again." And many similar examples of the extreme caution one needed to exercise regarding negative responses in order to be sure they were not merely descriptive of the place and moment. If Petrullo asked "Do you raise crops?", his informants would most likely have said, "No, we have no crops here", under the circumstances in which he found them.

[1] The river fauna is more plentiful and accessible in dry season because, first, it is more concentrated, and, second, it is more visible. During the wet, flooding season, fish, and other animals spread even into smaller streams and out upon the watery llanos — we caught a small piranha on the grassy, watercovered plain itself. On the plains, the fish are lost among the grasses and are virtually impossible to spear or shoot with bow and arrow. The river turbulence of the rainy season, meanwhile, has brought so much mud from further upstream that many of the rivers are opaque, especially in those parts of the llanos constructed of mud rather than sandy soils. Fish and the water reptiles and mammals are well-cloaked by the murky stream. The waters and the plains clear in the dry season so that the fish are concentrated in the limpid, grassless waters of the rivers, while land animals and riparian fauna are all crowded together near the banks in their search for food and water.

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

and warfare as supra-tribal distribution mechanisms. It is interesting to note that the cultural characteristics ascribed to each of the peoples — "warlike," "peaceable," "brabo" — are ecologically funcional, in that they mirror value orientations which tend to drive people to maximize the food resources in ways appropriate to their socio-ecological environments.

Fourth, the evidence seems to me at present to point to the existence throughout the area, of pre-hispanic horticulture, enjoyed by at least some groups within each tribe, if not by all groups in part of every year. The evidence comes from the reports of travellers, missionaries, and from the archeological remnants, such as they at present are. The main Spanish and Venezuelan acculturational effects with respect to subsistence appear to have been the introduction of iron tools; seeds and plants not of native origin, such as sugar cane and bananas; and, here and there, cattle, pigs, or chickens.

Fifth, the evidence suggests a steady deculturation in an area capable of maintaining a more elaborate level of culture. One may hypothesize either that groups like the Yaruro came into the area with a level of culture reflected by the Arauquín-style remants and then gradually deculturated both pre-hispanically and in post-conquest times, to their present level, or that they intruded into such a culture at a time when they themselves were at a more elaborate level, and then deculturated largely under Spanish influence. It will probably be possible to shed light on this question with the historical data.

In summary, if these hypotheses are correct, the entire interpretation of the llanos area between the Andes and the Orinoco highlands, as well as of other nearby areas assertedly inhabited by so-called marginal tribes, is quite different from that presented by the *Handbook of South American Indians*. The marginals of northern South America seem to evanesce, and a picture of a highly complex ecological system in which horticulture is of central importance, even if not quantitatively predominant in this ecologically restricted area, appears. This picture seems to conform better to the recent archeological hypotheses of Cruxent and Rouse (1958-1959), to the historical mentions of horticulture, to the presently scanty archeological and linguistic materials, and to more recent ethnological data.

I have not, as yet, been able to make any determination whatever with respect to clanship, totemism, or matricross-cousin marriage. I hope that with a study of the word lists discovered and with possible older ethnographic data that this problem may be resolved. My own field data suggests an organization into demes with bilateral marriages between cross-cousins or between an ego and his parallel cousin's offspring. This interpretation incidentally tallies with, or at least does not contradict, the data, such as the genealogies, kin terminology, and locality features described by Petrullo in all pasages where inferences and assertions as to the existence of these institutions do not occur.